

Tract No. 3.

13

TO THE



PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

SENATOR HAMMOND

AND

THE TRIBUNE.

BY TROUP.

 Read and send to your Neighbor. 

CHARLESTON :
PRINTED BY EVANS & COGSWELL,
No. 3 Broad and 193 East Bay Streets.
1899.



8-9-1910.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

I propose, for your perusal, the following extracts. They present two views of "the resources of the South." The first—Senator HAMMOND's, a cool-headed, sensible, unimpassioned Southern man—which, though graphic and artistic, is, statistically, below the mark. The second—the Black Republican view, as served up by the New York "TRIBUNE." If Senator Hammond gives us a true representation, can it be that 8,000,000 of free-born citizens, occupying this favored region, mean to submit to the rule of another people—a people in another region, the majority of whom speak through the columns of the TRIBUNE?—a people, not only not of them or among them—not merely geographically and morally foreigners and aliens, but despising, scorning, deriding, everything belonging to the *subject provinces*, and *weak provincials*?

It is a great mistake to assign the *election* of *Lincoln* as the CAUSE for a disruption of the Federal Government. It is but the *occasion*. The *cause* existed, perhaps, at the formation of the Confederacy. The cause consists in the incompatibility growing out of the two systems of labor, chrystalizing about them two forms of civilization—from which has sprung, if not conflicting interests, antipathies at least, instead of sympathies. In one sense, the "irrepressible conflict" is real. From time to time the pre-existing cause has presented *occasions of strife*. The question of the admission of Missouri—which, even to the ear of Jefferson, with his anti-slavery sentiments, was "like a fire bell in the night"—presented, perhaps, the first occasion when a dissolution of the Union, from this cause, was seriously considered.

The Tariffs of '21 or '28, connected with the unequal disbursements of the Federal Government, presented, in a less obvious form, another occasion of conflict, springing from the same cause. The attempt to exclude slave-holders from acquired territory by the so-called "Wilmot Proviso," presented a third occasion. The miserable subterfuges, in 1850, by which California was admitted as a State, Texas dismembered, and the sale of slaves prohibited in the District of Columbia, offered still a fourth occasion. The rapid growth of the Black Republican Party, and their almost consummated success in the election of Fremont, was a fifth occasion.

Since that time, the Black Republicans have obtained possession of the House of Representatives, elected its Speaker, and appointed its Committees. And now, in 1860, they elect, as President of the United States, a man who is at open war with the institutions of the South, and the chosen representative of the principles, the doctrines and the feelings of the TRIBUNE! These are all *occasions* forced upon us by the underlying cause of INCOMPATIBILITY.

The same cause has produced the nullification of the fugitive slave law in seven States of the Union, and, acting on individuals, has given us the "Aid Societies," (the origin of the Kansas difficulties) and John Brown's raid, and the meetings of his sympathizers, and very many other acts of individual hostility, separately and in concert, which only need to be suggested, more insulting, more injurious, more loathsome and revolting, than Government has yet attempted.

It has divided our Churches, and has produced, in the two sections, different and opposite modes of construing the Constitution—different and opposite modes of considering our form of General Government. The section, aggressive and dominant, considers the *United States* as a *Sovereign*, and the weaker and subject section, the *States separately* as *Sovereigns*, though united for enumerated purposes.

All the occasions for quarrel arising from this one cause of Incompatibility need not to be enumerated. It suffices that we can no longer doubt that the States of the North are henceforth dominant in the Government, and that the citizens of the North consider themselves not only licensed to interfere, but in duty bound to interfere in our domestic affairs.

Northern, or Black Republican rule, for they are now the

same, as illustrated by the election of Lincoln, is not in any proper sense a success of *party*. Parties, in the ordinary sense, are the necessary incidents of popular institutions. And the discontent of disappointed parties constitutes one of the dangers of republics. But parties in the United States have been hitherto spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. Federalists and Republicans extended from Massachusetts to Georgia. Whigs and Democrats waged equally doubtful warfare in Maine and Louisiana. Know Nothings were found throughout "illimitable Texas" and the "great North-west," and in every city whether of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Lakes, or the Gulf. Whatever party triumphed

"Our tyrants then,
Were still our countrymen."

But Black Republicans are the product of but eighteen States. In fifteen States of the Confederacy there is no such party. The people, then, of fifteen States, in submitting to Black Republican rule, are, to all intents and purposes, governed by a majority to which they contribute not one solitary man; a majority composed exclusively of the people of eighteen other States. The people of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi are governed then by representatives, who have not one solitary constituent, who helped in their election, within five hundred miles of the soil of these States. The people of Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas are still further off from those who govern them.

The election of Lincoln is but the last developed, cumulative, conclusive *symptom* in the diagnosis of a *fatal disease*. We are governed by a foreign people. The votes of fifteen States are as though they were not. The majority in the other eighteen States rule this Confederacy. Already they have the House of Representatives; on the 4th of March they will have the Executive; the Senate is soon to follow, next the Supreme Court, and in a very short time, in their progressive course, they will carry the "amending power," and make the Constitution itself what they will.

In what does the domination of a section, or the party of a section, differ from "colonial vassalage?" Is *this* less odious to the eight millions of the fifteen Southern States, than to the three millions of the thirteen colonies?

Our forefathers could not brook that all the powers of Govern-

ment should be assumed by a parliament responsible to a constituency three thousand miles off. They felt that though friendly and fostering, the government of Great Britain was the government of another people, and that so far at least as taxation was concerned, three millions of Americans could not safely trust to other millions in Great Britain. The Stamp Act and the Tax on Tea were not conceived in hostility; nor were they resisted by the colonies because they considered them grievous, or originating in hate, scorn, or wanton interference in matters in which the mother country had no concern. They were taxes laid in good faith for revenue, of which the colonies were to receive a due share. But to be taxed by *another people* they would not.

The colonial condition is at best one of pupilage, dependance and inferiority, and is degrading to such a people as that described by Senator Hammond. But when the people who govern are hostile; when the bond of union of the dominant party, of the governing people, is enmity and active antagonism to the mode of labor and social organization of the people governed, then foreign rule assumes its most dangerous form. If, however, political hostility has been intensified into religious hate, and to enmity and antagonism are added scorn and contempt; if the dominant people have been taught to despise, to deride and scoff the weakness of the governed, then their cup of abjectness is full to the brim. Read the annexed articles from the Tribune, the paper of the largest circulation in the world, a circulation confined to this dominant section, to the agency of whose chief editor Lincoln owes his nomination—malice and hate are lost in scorn, contempt, ridicule and derision!

Are we of the South, the people described by Senator Hammond? or, are we the poor, miserable, vamping, impotent poltroons, described by the Tribune?

If the former, within forty days the sovereignty of some, at least, of these now subject and derided States, will be asserted, and the flag of Independence floating on the breeze. But if, indeed, we are as impotent as the Tribune represents us, in the name of all that is decent, I implore you, my countrymen, to submit quietly. If you are incapable of a manly resistance, exhibit the next best proof of manhood, silent endurance. No more threats, no more vauntings, or *prospective platforms*. We can, at least, die with the dignity of martyrs, if we cannot live like heroes.

Poland is subject and divided, but if she fell "unwept without a crime," it was not without many a well-fought field. Hungary has yielded, but not without a mighty struggle. Awakened Italy now asserts her claim to independence, though her success is still uncertain. Shall we, with our fifteen vaunted sovereignties, each a PEOPLE and a STATE, with the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection, with whom resistance is not rebellion, and a defeated effort no treason—shall we die and make no sign?

Anything is better than, without one manly effort, to take the fate of prostrate Ireland. Nay, *time*, TIME only is wanting to bring the submissive South into the condition of grovelling Greece, under the iron heel of the hostile and fanatic Turk, before the "trampled worm, turned and stung." Or shall we choose our destiny with *Jamaica* or *St. Domingo*? Men of the South, "Awake, arise, or be forever fallen!" Our manacles are being forged. Shall we sleep while they are fitted to our limbs, and the rivets clinched?

First and foremost, it is, upon the people of GEORGIA that the responsibility rests in this crisis. She is at once the "EMPIRE" and the "KEYSTONE STATE," of the South. Let *her* lead and she is CERTAIN that South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, will immediately follow; and, as I confidently believe, in quick succession, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, and in the choice of confederacies, the entire South. To Georgia, then, I particularly address this appeal; but the exigency admits no time for ceremony, let the State who first can do so, in the plenitude of her sovereignty, reassume the rights she has yielded and propose herself as the nucleus of a future self-governing, slave-holding confederacy.

TROUP.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES H. HAMMOND.

Delivered in the Senate of the U. S., March 4, 1858.

As I am disposed to see this question settled as soon as possible, and am perfectly willing to have a final and conclusive settlement *now*, after what the Senator from New York has said, I think it not improper that I should attempt to bring the North and South face to face, and see what resources each of us might have in the contingency of separate organizations.

If we never acquire another foot of territory for the South, look at her. Eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles. As large as Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Spain. Is not that territory enough to make an empire that shall rule the world! With the finest soil, the most delightful climate, whose staple productions none of those great countries can grow, we have three thousand miles of continental shore line, so indented with bays and crowded with islands, that, when their shore lines are added, we have twelve thousand miles. Through the heart of our country runs the great Mississippi, the father of waters, into whose bosom are poured thirty-six thousand miles of tributary streams; and beyond we have the desert prairie wastes, to protect us in our rear. Can you hem in such a territory as that? You talk of putting up a wall of fire around eight hundred and fifty thousand square miles so situated! How absurd.

But in this territory lies the great valley of the Mississippi, now the real, and soon to be the acknowledged seat of the empire of the world. The sway of that valley will be as great as ever the

Nile knew in the earlier ages of mankind. We own the most of it. The most valuable part of it belongs to us now; and although those who have settled above us are now opposed to us, another generation will tell a different tale. They are ours by all the laws of nature; slave-labor will go over every foot of this great valley where it will be found profitable to use it, and some of those who may not use it are soon to be united with us by such ties as will make us one and inseparable. The iron horse will soon be clattering over the sunny plains of the South to bear the products of its upper tributaries to our Atlantic ports, as it now does through the ice-bound North. There is the great Mississippi, a bond of union made by nature herself. She will maintain it forever.

On this fine territory we have a population four times as large as that with which these colonies separated from the mother country, and a hundred, I might say, a thousand fold as strong. Our population is now sixty per cent. greater than that of the whole United States when we entered into the second war of independence. It is as large as the whole population of the United States was ten years after the conclusion of that war, and our exports are three times as great as those of the whole United States then. Upon our muster rolls we have a million of men. In a defensive war upon an emergency, every one of them would be available. At any time the South can raise, equip, and maintain in the field, a larger army than any Power of the earth can send against her, and an army of soldiers—men brought up on horseback, with guns in their hands.

If we take the North, even when the two large States of Kansas and Minnesota shall be admitted, her territory will be one hundred thousand square miles less than ours. I do not speak of California and Oregon; there is no antagonism between the South and those countries, and never will be. The population of the North is fifty per cent. greater than ours. I have nothing to say in disparagement either of the soil of the North, or the people of the North, who are a brave and energetic race, full of intellect. But they produce no great staples that the South does not produce; while we produce two or three, and those the very greatest, that she can never produce. As to her men, I may be allowed to say, they have never proved themselves to be superior to those of the South, either in the field or in the Senate.

But the strength of a nation depends in a great measure upon its wealth, and the wealth of a nation, like that of a man, is to be

estimated by its surplus production. You may go to your trashy census books, full of falsehood and nonsense—they tell you, for example, that in the State of Tennessee, the whole number of house-servants is not equal to one-half those in my own house, and such things as that. You may estimate what is made throughout the country from these census books, but it is no matter how much is made if it is all consumed. If a man is worth millions of dollars and consumes his income, is he rich? Is he competent to embark in any new enterprise? Can he build ships or railroads? And could a people in that condition build ships and roads or go to war? All the enterprises of peace and war depend upon the surplus productions of a people. They may be happy, they may be comfortable, they may enjoy themselves in consuming what they make; but they are not rich, they are not strong. It appears, by going to the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, which are authentic, that last year the United States exported in round numbers \$279,000,000 worth of domestic produce, excluding gold and foreign merchandise re-exported. Of this amount \$158,000,000 worth is the clear produce of the South; articles that are not and cannot be made at the North. There are then \$80,000,000 worth of exports of products of the forest, provisions and breadstuffs. If we assume that the South made but one-third of these, and I think that is a low calculation, our exports are \$185,000,000, leaving to the North less than \$95,000,000.

In addition to this, we sent to the North \$30,000,000 worth of cotton, which is not counted in the exports. We sent to her \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000 worth of tobacco, which is not counted in the exports. We sent naval stores, lumber, rice, and many other minor articles. There is no doubt that we sent to the North \$40,000,000 in addition; but suppose the amount to be \$35,000,000, it will give us a surplus production of \$220,000,000. But the recorded exports of the South now are greater than the whole exports of the United States in any year before 1856. They are greater than the whole average exports of the United States for the last twelve years, including the two extraordinary years of 1856 and 1857. They are nearly double the amount of the average exports of the twelve preceding years. If I am right in my calculations as to \$220,000,000 of surplus produce, there is not a nation on the face of the earth, with any numerous population, that can compete with us in produce *per capita*. It amounts to \$16 66 per head, supposing that we have twelve million peo-

ple. England, with all her accumulated wealth, with her concentrated and educated energy, makes but sixteen dollars of surplus production per head. I have not made a calculation as to the North, with her \$95,000,000 surplus; admitting that she exports as much as we do, with her eighteen millions of population, it would be but little over twelve dollars a head. But she cannot export to us and abroad exceeding ten dollars a head against our sixteen dollars. I know well enough that the North sends to the South a vast amount of the productions of her industry. I take it for granted that she, at least, pays us in that way for the thirty or forty million dollars worth of cotton and other articles we send her. I am willing to admit that she sends us considerably more; but to bring her up to our amount of surplus production, to bring her up to \$220,000,000 a year, the South must take from her \$125,000,000; and this, in addition to our share of the consumption of the \$333,000,000 worth introduced into the country from abroad, and paid for chiefly by our own exports. The thing is absurd; it is impossible; it can never appear anywhere but in a book of statistics.

With an export of \$220,000,000 under the present tariff, the South organized separately would have \$40,000,000 of revenue. With one-fourth the present tariff she would have a revenue adequate to all her wants, for the South would never go to war; she would never need an army or a navy, beyond a few garrisons on the frontier and a few revenue cutters. It is commerce that breeds war. It is manufactures that require to be hawked about the world, that give rise to navies and commerce. But we have nothing to do but to take off restrictions upon foreign merchandise and open our ports, and the whole world will come to us to trade. They will be too glad to bring and carry for us, and we never shall dream of a war. Why, the South has never yet had a just cause of war. Every time she has drawn her sword, it has been on the point of honor, and that point of honor has been mainly loyalty to her sister colonies and sister States, who have ever since plundered and calumniated her [See Note A.]

But if there were no other reason why we should never have war, would any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us, we could bring the whole world to our feet. The South is perfectly competent to go on, one, two or three years, without planting a seed of cotton. I believe that if she was to plant but half her

cotton, for three years to come, it would be an immense advantage to her. I am not so sure but that, after three total years' abstinence, she would come out stronger than ever she was before, and better prepared to enter afresh upon her great career of enterprise. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton *is* king. Until lately the Bank of England was king, but she tried to put her screws, as usual, the fall before last, upon the cotton crop, and was utterly vanquished. The last power has been conquered. Who can doubt that has looked at recent events, that cotton is supreme? When the abuse of credit had destroyed credit and annihilated confidence, when thousands of the strongest commercial houses in the world were coming down, and hundreds of millions of dollars of supposed property evaporating in thin air, when you came to a dead lock, and revolutions were threatened—what brought you up? Fortunately for you, it was the commencement of the cotton season, and we have poured in upon you one million six hundred thousand bales of cotton just at the crisis to save you from destruction. That cotton, but for the bursting of your speculative bubbles in the North, which produced the whole of this convulsion, would have brought us \$100,000,000. We have sold it for \$65,000,000, and saved you. \$35,000,000 we, the slaveholders of the South, have put into the charity box for your magnificent financiers, your "cotton lords," your "merchant princes."

But, sir, the greatest strength of the South arises from the harmony of her political and social institutions. [See Note B.] This harmony gives her a frame of society, the best in the world, and an extent of political freedom, combined with entire security, such as no other people ever enjoyed upon the face of the earth. Society precedes government; creates it, and ought to control it; but as far as we can look back in historic times we find the case different; for government is no sooner created than it becomes too strong for society, and shapes and moulds, as well as controls it. In later centuries the progress of civilization and of intelligence has made the divergence so great as to produce civil wars and revolutions: and it is nothing now but the want of harmony between governments and societies, which occasions all the uneas-

ness and trouble and terror that we see abroad. It was this that brought on the American Revolution. We threw off a Government not adapted to our social system, and made one for ourselves. The question is, how far have we succeeded? The South so far as that is concerned, is satisfied, harmonious, and prosperous.

In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government; and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air, as to build either the one or the other, except on this mud-sill. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. A race inferior to her own, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves. We are old-fashioned at the South yet; it is a word discarded now by "ears polite;" I will not characterize that class at the North with that term; but you have it; it is there; it is everywhere; it is eternal.

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Aye, the *name*, but not the *thing*; all the powers of the earth cannot abolish that. God only can do it when he repeals the *fiat*, "the poor ye always have with you;" for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole class of manual laborers and "operatives," as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most painful manner, at any hour, in any street in any of your large towns. Why, sir, you meet more beggars in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South. Our slaves are black, of another and inferior race. The *status* in which we have placed them is an elevation. They are elevated from the condition in which God first created them, by being made our slaves. None of that race on the whole face of

the globe can be compared with the slaves of the South. They are happy, content, unaspiring, and utterly incapable, from intellectual weakness, ever to give us any trouble by their aspirations. Yours are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. Our slaves do not vote. We give them no political power. Yours do vote, and being the majority, they are the depositaries of all your political power. If they knew the tremendous secret, that the ballot-box is stronger than an army with banners, and could combine, where would you be? Your society would be reconstructed, your government overthrown, your property divided, not as they have mistakenly attempted to initiate such proceedings by meeting in parks, with arms in their hands, but by the quiet process of the ballot-box. You have been making war upon us to our very hearthstones. How would you like for us to send lecturers and agitators North, to teach these people this, to aid in combining, and to lead them?

Mr. WILSON, and others. Send them along.

Mr. HAMMOND. You say send them along. There is no need of that. Your people are awaking. They are coming here. They are thundering at our doors for homesteads, one hundred and sixty acres of land for nothing, and Southern Senators are supporting them. Nay, they are assembling, as I have said, with arms in their hands, and demanding work at \$1,000 a year for six hours a day. Have you heard that the ghosts of Mendoza and Torquemada are stalking in the streets of your great cities? That the inquisition is at hand? There is afloat a fearful rumor that there have been consultations for vigilance committees. You know what that means.

Transient and temporary causes have thus far been your preservation. The great West has been open to your surplus population, and your hordes of semi-barbarian immigrants, who are crowding in year by year. They make a great movement, and you call it progress. Whither? It is progress; but it is progress towards vigilance committees. The South have sustained you in a great measure. You are our factors. You bring and carry for us. \$159,000,000 of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks; all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands; we should consign you to anarchy and poverty.

A.

One of the most striking proofs of the resources of the slaveholding States, is that they have continued to thrive under a revenue system which creates a perpetual drain on their wealth.

- The people of the Southern States produce far the larger part of those commodities that are exported from the country. The exports from a country are, and can be, paid for, only by the imports into it, and *vice versa*. Deducting the cost of transportation, &c., the imports into a country belong of right to the producers of the commodities that paid for them; and duties imposed on imported goods thus fall on the producer of the articles for which they were exchanged.

But the Federal Government raises seven-eighths of its revenues by duties on foreign goods. (Taking care, however, to admit, free of duty, articles useful to the Northern manufacturer.) As the people of the Southern States produce the bulk of the exports, which pay for foreign goods, the bulk of those goods are theirs; and the greater part of the duties laid on them are paid by us in the South. The result is the same, whether the producer himself exports and imports, or an agent or purchaser takes his place.

The Federal Government has raised \$70,000,000 a year by duties. By an ingeniously contrived tariff, aiming here at revenue, there at protection of Northern industry, the South is made to pay \$50,000,000, and the North perhaps \$20,000,000. But this is only half the process. When this \$70,000,000 comes to be expended, \$50,000,000 and more is lavished at the North and \$20,000,000 grudgingly expended at the South. Thus, by the direct and intentional operation of the Government, we are drained of \$30,000,000 a year, which we never see again. It goes to swell that other fund created for the benefit of the Northern man by the protective policy, which strives to make Northern industry profitable, beyond its natural gains, by shutting us out from the market of the world, and compelling us to deal with the North.

Few people could stand this draining process as we have done. It is not simply that we are heavily taxed, though so indirectly that no man knows what he pays; but that we are taxed to raise a revenue which is chiefly expended elsewhere, and never comes back to us in any shape.

Great Britain owes 800,000,000 sterling and pays nearly 27,000,000 annual interest on it. The expenses of the Government amount to 30,000,000 more. Yet she could, perhaps, sustain double this burden, simply because the immense amount raised in taxes is expended at home. If Great Britain owed 800,000,000 abroad, and had to send 27,000,000 every year into foreign countries to pay her creditors, necessity would soon tempt her to seek relief in repudiation.

If we, in these Southern States, should establish a Southern Confederacy, and support a government at the cost of \$30,000,000 a year, we would annually make that much by that process alone; for we would merely expend so much at home, where it would only change hands among ourselves, and take nothing from the resources of the country; while we now yearly send \$30,000,000 to be distributed among our enemies. A most profitless expenditure has this last proved to us. We, the Anglo-Saxon people of these Southern States, in this nineteenth century, pay \$30,000,000, yea, \$60,000,000, a year in *Dane-gelt* to these Northern pirates, and, like the Anglo-Saxons of the ninth century, have failed to buy our peace.

B.

Helper, in his monotonous volume in abuse of the South, lays great stress on the fact, that there are only three hundred thousand slaveholders, thence inferring that only that number are interested in negro slavery. There are persons among us whose unreasoning ignorance rivals Helper's malice. His first and smallest error is to forget that these three hundred thousand represent not persons but families, and must be multiplied by five or six to reach the truth. But let that pass.

It is obvious that the Southern States in this Confederacy are civilized, and, in their internal condition, prosperous communities, and when we look for the causes, we find that their civilization and prosperity are based upon the fact, that among eight millions of whites, who are the citizens of these States, are mingled more than four millions of negroes, who are subject to the whites, and in a condition of domestic servitude to individuals among them.

The results of the labor of this negro population form the foundation on which are built the industry, wealth and civilization of

the country. This is largely the case, even in the border States, where the negroes are fewer, and in the more Southern or cotton growing States, almost wholly so. If you search closely, you will find that there is no man who makes a living in the Southern States (not excepting the Federal officeholder) but that the labor of the negro contributes the chief supply to that fund from which he derives his gains. There is no property here which does not derive from it its chief value. Had this negro population never been introduced here, the country would never have attained its present position in production, population and wealth. The correlative laws of race and climate throughout these Southern States forbid the white man's accomplishing by his own unaided efforts, that which he has done with the help of the negro. Were this race released from subjection, and abandoned to their native improvidence and indolence, their destitution and depredations alone, without looking to other causes, would lead to a war of races ending in their extermination, and the country would be brought down far below the level of even Mexican civilization.

To the labor of the negro, under the white man's superintendence and control, we owe nine-tenths of the products of the soil: the whole of the cotton, sugar and rice crop, three-fourths of the tobacco, hemp and grain crops, and a large part of the products of the forest. These are not all, but we will specify no more. For the most part, the field of the white man's industry begins where the labor of the negro ends. That which has been produced must be turned to account. We need but look at our railroads and steamboats to see how many white men make their living by bringing to market that which they themselves have not and could not produce. Our towns are crowded with those who find their sole occupation in the receipt, transfer and sale of these same products of negro labor, and in the trade which springs from its exchange for other commodities. The towns themselves have no other origin than the facilitating of this exchange. The demand for shipping, vehicles, machinery, tools, and all the conveniences and even luxuries of civilized life, based upon the command of these productions of our soil and climate, give profitable employment to numerous classes of whites. Directly, or indirectly, all professions are sustained by them. Sweep away all the results of negro labor from the Southern States, and what would be left on which half the present white population could find profitable

employment, and sustain a well ordered civilization? The truth is that it is the increase of the slave population which widens the field of profitable industry to the white man; and a marked diminution of the negroes would drive from the South many a white man who could no longer make a comfortable living here.

These things are obvious enough, but not to some men, who cannot see beyond their noses. An engine driver on a Southern railroad, after abusing the Abolitionists, said: "But come what may, I own no negro, and can still drive my engine." Could he be ignorant that it was the demand for transportation of slave grown produce, and its accompanying trade and travel, which had created his road, and that when that ceased, the road might need neither the engine or its driver? But here is ignorance more astounding still: A careful man, who owns real estate and bank stock in a Southern city, but the other day congratulated himself, that in these ticklish times he holds no such precarious property as negroes; his investments are all safe and solid. Let one thing happen, and they have the solidity of a soap bubble. Turn loose the negro to his native indolence; sweep away this system of servitude, which has raised him from a savage state, and with it goes the labor and produce of the South. What then becomes of all that long array of wharves and docks, those giant warehouses, and banking palaces? They stand there valueless as the magnificent ruins of Tadmor in the wilderness.

The abolitionist seeks to set the negro free, and compel the white man in the South to meet him on a footing of equality at the ballot box, in the jury box, in the ranks of the militia, and in social life. We, in the South, have a practical knowledge of the race, and know that it is only in a subordinate position, as our property and under our protection, that these people can inhabit the same country with ourselves.

It is the interest and the duty of every citizen of these Southern States, to sustain and strengthen the social and political organization, which alone can secure and promote their safety, civilization and prosperity. And to the citizens of these States alone belongs the regulation of their internal government and interests, to the exclusion of federal and foreign influence.

THE TRIBUNE.

NORTHERN OPINION OF THE SOUTH.

The New York *Tribune* is the great country paper of the North. Its subscription list numbers two hundred and forty thousand—by far the largest of any paper in the world. Circulating amongst the families, men, women and children, scattered from Maine to Minnesota, its influence is many times greater than that of any paper in this country. It is, in fact, to a very great extent, the representative of Northern opinion—for it is really the leading organ of the controlling party of that section, which has grown to its present strength by the assistance and through teachings of that journal. In the office of the *Tribune* are a corps of several editors, in charge of different departments. Among them is one whose special department it is to heap ridicule, contempt and abuse, upon Southern men and Southern things. His articles vary from good-natured and rollicking derision, to sharp sarcasm and vulgar vituperation. That our readers may see the estimation in which they are held at the North, and feel the reverence and respect which they inspire, we transfer to-day to our columns the *Tribune's* disquisition on 'Cockades and Common Sense.'

[From the New York *Tribune*, 22d inst.]

COCKADES AND COMMON SENSE.

The Charleston *Mercury* is "glad to learn" that in all the principal districts of that State a military organization is forming, to be called the "Minute Men," whose duty it is "to arm, equip and drill, and be ready for any emergency that may arise in the present perilous condition of the Southern States." The organization is "to embrace the flower of the youth," and to be led "by the most influential citizens," and the badge thereof is "a blue rosette, two and-a-half inches in diameter, with a military button in the centre, to be worn upon the side of the hat." The design is pretty, but the color bad, as it is difficult in the evening to distinguish blue from green, and some fatal mistakes might occur if one were supposed to have upon his hat a Lincoln green cockade. The difficulty can be overcome, however, by an order that the side of the hat on which the rosette shall be worn shall be the inside. In that position, with small mirrors in the

place of the military button, they may be made to serve a useful purpose to "the flower of the youth," anxious as to the graceful and becoming condition of hair and whiskers. Indeed, we know of nothing that would be more generally useful to South Carolinians, at this moment, than mirrors of any sort, in which they might "see themselves as others see them."

But the *Mercury* is not half explicit enough as to the intentions of these youthful flowers. They will not blush unseen, we know, for that maiden weakness is not at all characteristic of South Carolinians. Nor will they waste their fragrance on the desert air, for they take precious good care that all the world shall know of all the charming qualities they believe themselves to possess. Do they mean to invade the North? Or do they seriously expect to persuade anybody that the North means to invade South Carolina? There is one class of people, and one only, so utterly ignorant and foolish as to believe this last absurdity—and that is the slave. If they see their masters arming, and learn that it is to defend themselves against the Northern people who are to come to abolish slavery, they may, perhaps, first believe it, then hope for it, and finally propose to organize their own Minute Men to aid it. If the "flower of the youth" and "the most influential citizens" are bent upon an abolition war of that sort, they are taking the most certain method of bringing it about with their arming and equipping, their drilling and cock-ading, their buttons and bravados; but the foe they may have to contend with, who is sleeping now in the ashes on their kitchen hearths, or on the mud floors of the negro huts, they will hear of presently by dim watch-fires in the palmetto swamps, and in the sombre depths of the pine forests. They mean no such war as this; neither do reckless miners who go with unprotected lamps into fire-damp mines mean explosion.

The simple truth is, no more windy bombast was ever belched, than this talk of arming at the South, since Bombastes Furioso hung his boots up as a challenge to all comers. The South knows perfectly well that nobody is going to attack her, and that she is going to attack nobody. Reckless politicians, whose trade is agitation, whose chief ability lies in brawling, who are without influence except in seasons of turbulence, who can hope to gain no place of profit or of honor, except when men's evil passions have corrupted their judgment, will seize this occasion, as they have seized scores of others, to achieve notoriety, and to rise to a dis-

graceful eminence. They may succeed in some small degree in influencing the weak and alarming the timid; but the sober and thinking people of the South, who understand her condition, and know both her strength and her weakness, will have no participation in their folly, and will be unmoved by their madness. It is easy enough to play at soldiering when the dram shop is close by, and battallions can stack arms every hour to go and "liquor;" pleasant enough to go campaigning when companies can be dismissed and go home to dinner; nor need the military chest be heavy when a bushel of blank cartridges is all the ammunition that is needed. If this were all that is requisite for disunion, South Carolina would have left the Confederacy thirty years ago. But an army in the field is quite another matter. Government might advertise for contractors to keep that State in order, and find men enough in this city who would agree to do it at a very low figure. But South Carolina in revolt must find her own resources. Where are they? The first requisite is money. Where is it to come from? Let the doubter glance at the price of stocks in this market, and mark the difference between Northern and Southern State bonds. That difference is not without reason. She is not in good credit either here or in England, and on the continent of Europe she is almost without any. They refuse already to buy the bonds of the Slave-holding States of the Union on the Paris Bourse, and in Holland they are sold with difficulty. Let her make the first serious movement at seceding from the Union, and she could not raise a dollar. Her bonds would fall at once to zero everywhere, and bankrupt in credit, with an empty treasury, in what condition is she to undertake a war?

The *POSSIBILITY OF DISUNION* on the part of the South is almost *TOO ABSURD* either for discussion or ridicule. In the first place, she does not intend it; in the second place, she hasn't the power to make the attempt, even if she had the will; and, finally, she could not accomplish it if she had both the will and power to make the attempt. The local police at Washington are quite strong enough to suppress any incipient rebellion at the seat of Government, and a revenue cutter off Charleston bar would be likely to make blue rosettes in South Carolina as scarce as blue roses.

[From the *New York Tribune*, 27th inst.]

A NATIONAL CAPITAL WANTED.

What is to be the capital of the New Southern Empire? When the Southern States secede they will certainly want one. They must organize a common Government at some point. Where shall it be? Baltimore? No. Neither Baltimore nor Maryland even so much as talk about seceding. Besides, the Republicans are looming up there, and will come down with a smart vote in November. Is there any place in Delaware? Wilmington is its chief town, and the people of that ancient and sober-sided place no more favor secession than the rural population of the little State, in whose mind the idea of secession has never yet found a lodgment. We must, then, go south of Delaware and Maryland. Shall we say the Federal city? Mr. Senator Clingmann would answer yes. He has declared he meant to have his share of the stone and mortar of Washington, or die in his tracks in trying to get it. But how will the seceders get possession? Not without fighting for it, certainly; for the city is in the hands of the General Government, and that Government will not yield it unless under compulsion. To take it by force, then, involves the raising of an army to capture it. Well, where is that coming from? Is Washington to be captured by Virginia under the valiant General Wise? The raw recruits of the old Dominion left it to the handful of the United States marines to vindicate the sovereignty of that Commonwealth and take John Brown. We presume they will hesitate still more at assailing Uncle Sam himself at the Capital.

But still the new Southern Empire must have a capital. Shall it, then, be Richmond or Charleston, or the still smaller town of Savannah? or may we suggest New Orleans, as being still further out of harm's way? But New Orleans is as much out of the question as Baltimore. The people of Louisiana are not seceders. They have the great American market for sugar, walled in for their especial use at a very high cost, which makes them very conservative and very loyal, presuming, as we shall not, that any thing was wanting to make them so, aside from their lofty sentiments of patriotism. The capital, then, must be either Charleston or Richmond, so far as we can see.

And now, reflecting on what this bird's-eye view suggests, what are we to think of the vamping we hear in regard to a secession

of the Slave States? Where is secession to begin? Who is it to include? What is to be its centre, and where is to be its capital? Secession, in our opinion, would involve a civil war in every State; for every State, to say the least, would have a powerful party against seceding. And a civil war among the dominant race would bring on servile insurrections among the enslaved. And how, under such circumstances, could the Federal Government escape the position of arbiter of the dispute? Admitting, for argument's sake, the right of a State to secede, does not the Federal Government owe protection to all its citizens who claim that protection? And how could it forbear to quell internecine strife, if called upon to do it? And if this great Government, backed by the whole body of Free States, and a very large fraction of the Slave States, were to array itself against the seceding fragment, pray, what would become of that fragment? It is idle to bluster. When Mr. Toombs talks about "cartridge boxes," if ballot boxes fail, does he not remember that in all appeals to arms, it is numbers that count, and money, that sustains? And what sort of a contest would he challenge in these respects? How do the Free States and his proposed seceding Slave States compare on these two heads? We forbear to make the comparison. We will not expose the weakness of any portion of our common country. *But we do hold, that pretence monstrous in its extravagance which alleges the ability of the Slave States of this Union to cope for an instant with the power of the Free States that belong to it.*

If anything, then, is to be done in earnest by the Secessionists, the first step is to obtain unanimity of sentiment in at least one single Slave State, and if more than one is to secede, then unanimity in whatever States it is proposed should retire from the common Government. And there is no sound American way of doing this except by calling the people together to decide upon the subject. If, then, anybody is in earnest about secession, let us see some action that looks like it. Let us see the people of some State called together to consider the subject, and we shall then know how the people of that State stand. Let us have the ayes and noes called, after full consultation and debate. But until this is done in some one State, and it is shown to all the world that some existing member of the American Union desires to leave it, we shall contend that there is no such State, and that all the talk about secession and disunion is but the idle gabble of vamping politicians.

[Extract from the *New York Herald*.]

HOW STANDS THE CASE ?

How stands the case ? Since 1850 two more free States—Minnesota and Oregon—have been admitted, giving the North a Senatorial majority of six. Kansas will be admitted this next winter which will increase the majority to eight. Should "Honest Old Abe's" administration go on smoothly, Nebraska, Washington, Chippewa, Idaho, Nevada and Arizona will be added to the free list, making a Senatorial majority of twenty against the slave States, and a majority against them of perhaps one hundred in the House.

The question, therefore, of Union or disunion, will have to be settled with Lincoln's election, because acquiescence on the part of the Southern States to his administration will soon result in such an accumulation of Northern anti-slavery strength in every department of the government as to render any subsequent Southern secession movement, under any provocation, utterly foolish and impotent. The position of the Southern States will be like that of the Italian States after the European peace of 1815. They will be put completely under the thumb of their Northern masters.

The simple truth is, that in submitting to Lincoln's election, the South must be content to prepare deliberately for the abolition of slavery from Delaware to Texas. This is exactly what this thing means. The will and the power will be given, with Lincoln's election, to a party founded upon this "one idea," and pledged to this work ; and they will do it.

